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Infant mortality and its leading cause, low birth weight, are serious public health problems in the United States. Research has shown that women who receive adequate prenatal care during their pregnancies have much lower rates of low birth weight infants than do women who receive less than adequate prenatal care. In Missouri, inadequate prenatal care¹ has been identified as a significant factor for women whose babies die in the neonatal period², which is mostly associated with low birth weight.

As with infant mortality and low birth weight which remain much higher among nonwhites than among whites, there are racial disparities which exist in prenatal care utilization rates. The inadequate prenatal care rate in Missouri (1987) was 16.5 percent, but was 13.4 percent for whites and 31.0 percent for nonwhites.

Because of the association between prenatal care and positive pregnancy outcome, there has been a great deal of interest in identifying the barriers to prenatal care, in order to eliminate them and enable all women to obtain early and continuous prenatal care services. A study co-sponsored by the Missouri Perinatal Association and the Missouri Department of Health was undertaken to identify both the barriers and inducements to receiving early and continuous prenatal care services.

The study was conducted in Kansas City, St. Louis and Southeast Missouri, as these have been identified as the areas with the highest rates of infant mortality and inadequate prenatal care in Missouri. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with postpartum mothers prior to discharge in 11 hospitals. Interviewers determined whether women had adequate or inadequate care based on the prenatal record or from the patient herself, and conducted interviews with women who received inadequate prenatal care and an equal number of adequate-care mothers. Interviews began in June, 1987 and were completed in Kansas City and St. Louis in September, 1987. Because of the smaller number of births, interviews in Southeast Missouri were completed in June, 1988.

In the urban areas, the study was conducted primarily in large, public hospitals which serve primarily low-income and minority women. Because of this, the two groups of women (those who received adequate or inadequate care) were drawn from approximately the same population. In South-

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east Missouri although the hospitals served both "public" and "private" patients, the two groups were comparable in their representation of adequacy of care.

After matching the questionnaires with birth certificates, there were a total of 1,484 women, 764 (51.5 percent) of whom had inadequate prenatal care. Table 1 illustrates the adequate and inadequate prenatal care populations by selected characteristics. As expected, the two groups were differentiated by race, age, marital status, education, gravidity and income. The inadequate prenatal care group had a higher percentage of black, teenage, unmarried, less educated, high parity and low income (less than \$5,000/year) women than did the adequate care group. The inadequate care group had more Medicaid participants (55.4 percent) and Food Stamp participants (41.0 percent) than the adequate care group (Medicaid: 40.3 percent, Food Stamps: 33.1 percent). On the other hand, the adequate care group had a higher rate of WIC participants (74.9 percent) than the inadequate care group (65.6 percent). The inadequate care group had higher rates of women with no previous source of health care (60.2 percent) than the adequate care group (50.6 percent) but had lower rates of women who worked outside the home (35.8 percent) than the adequate care group (47.2 percent). These were both direct and proxy variables for poverty which emerged as a major factor in differentiating between the two groups.

Wantedness of pregnancy was examined by a series of questions illustrated in Table 2. When asked how they felt when they found out they were pregnant, over half (54.2 percent) of those with adequate care said they were happy, while only 32.1 percent of those who received inadequate care said they were happy. The remaining wantedness of pregnancy variables each differentiated the inadequate and adequate care groups. The inadequate care group had much higher rates of women who didn't want to be pregnant, or want others to know of the pregnancy or who considered adoption or abortion than the adequate care group.

Table 3 illustrates other problems commonly thought to affect prenatal care utilization. The inadequate group reported more problems with transportation, childcare problems and financial problems affecting their ability to pay for care or find prenatal care providers than the adequate care group. Women from the inadequate care group were twice as likely (18.7 percent) to report having too many other problems to go for care than those in the adequate group (7.8 percent). A sizable number of women from the adequate care group (17.5 percent) and the inadequate group (22.0 percent) reported that they just didn't feel like going sometimes.

The inadequate care group reported that they experienced "a lot" of stress during pregnancy a third more often (38.6 percent) than the adequate care group (29.0 percent). Table 3 also reveals the mediating influence of social support on prenatal care utilization, as women in the adequate care group had higher rates of social support than those in the inadequate care group.

1. Inadequate prenatal care is defined both by late entry into care (after four months of pregnancy) as well as by number of total visits (less than five visits for pregnancies less than 37 weeks, or less than eight visits for 37+ week pregnancies).

2. Pierson, V.H. (1987): Perinatal and Postneonatal Mortality and Low Birth Weight in Missouri. Missouri Center for Health Statistics Publication No. 4.33.

Table 1

**Percent Distributions of Adequate Prenatal Care
and Inadequate Prenatal Care Populations by Selected Characteristics**

	<i>Adequate Prenatal Care Group</i>		<i>Inadequate Prenatal Care Group</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Black, Non-Hispanic	342	47.9	432	56.7
Age under 20 at Delivery	196	27.2	267	35.0
Unmarried at Pregnancy Onset	446	61.9	574	75.1
Less than High School Education	282	39.2	410	53.7
Number of Prior Pregnancies:				
0	262	36.4	217	28.4
1-3	397	55.1	438	57.3
4 or More	61	8.5	109	14.3
Income (Yearly):				
Less than \$5,000	200	27.8	295	38.6
\$5,000 - 9,999	187	26.0	171	22.4
\$10,000 - 14,999	100	13.9	82	10.7
\$15,000 and over	117	16.3	82	10.7
Unknown	116	16.1	134	17.5
Medicaid Participant	290	40.3	423	55.4
Food Stamp Participant	238	33.1	313	41.0
WIC Participant	539	74.9	501	65.6
No Previous Regular Source of Health Care	363	50.6	459	60.2
Worked Outside the Home During Pregnancy ..	339	47.2	272	35.8
Perceived Prenatal Care Very Necessary	649	90.4	553	73.0
Health Problems During Pregnancy	279	39.0	220	29.0
Total*	720	100.0	764	100.0

*Includes unknowns.

Table 2

**Percent Distributions of Adequate Prenatal Care and
Inadequate Prenatal Care Populations by Wantedness of Pregnancy Variables**

	<i>Adequate Prenatal Care Group</i>		<i>Inadequate Prenatal Care Group</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Unplanned Pregnancy	516	71.9	646	84.9
Felt Happy When Learned of Pregnancy	389	54.2	244	32.1
Didn't Want Others to Know of Pregnancy	84	11.7	177	23.2
Didn't Want to Think About Being Pregnant	126	17.5	231	30.2
Didn't Know She Was Pregnant	22	3.1	148	19.4
Alraid to Tell Parents of Pregnancy	107	14.9	171	22.4
Alraid to Tell Baby's Father of Pregnancy	39	5.4	64	8.4
Wasn't Sure She Wanted to Be Pregnant	236	32.8	346	45.3
Embarrassed About Being Pregnant	41	5.7	71	9.3
Considered Adoption	24	3.3	56	7.3
Considered Abortion	85	11.8	141	18.5
Total*	720	100.0	764	100.0

*Includes unknowns.

Table 3

Percent Distribution of Adequate Prenatal Care and
Inadequate Prenatal Care Populations for Selected Problems,
Stress, and Support During Pregnancy

	Adequate Prenatal Care Group		Inadequate Prenatal Care Group	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Transportation Problems	142	19.7	243	31.8
Childcare Problems	36	5.0	78	10.2
Too Many Other Problems to Go for Care	56	7.8	143	18.7
Just Didn't Feel Like Going Sometimes	126	17.5	168	22.0
Afraid of Medical Procedures/Doctors	23	3.2	44	5.8
Couldn't Get an Appointment Earlier	20	2.8	49	6.4
Over One-Hour Wait to See Doctor	180	25.1	212	30.6
Couldn't See What I Gained from Care	7	1.0	26	3.4
Financial Problems Regarding Care:				
Didn't Have Enough Money for Care	316	43.9	387	50.6
No Insurance Until Later in Pregnancy	83	11.5	120	15.7
Didn't Know Where to Go for				
Low-Cost Care	58	8.1	114	14.9
Couldn't Find Doctor Who				
Accepted Medicaid	3	0.4	18	2.4
Turned Away Because Couldn't				
Make Payment up Front	9	1.2	37	4.8
They Hassled Me About Money	6	0.8	18	2.4
Experienced "A lot" of Stress				
During Pregnancy	208	29.0	293	38.6
Excellent Help/Support from Baby's Father	291	40.5	234	30.9
Excellent Help/Support from Others	285	39.6	252	33.2
Total*	720	100.0	764	100.0

*Includes unknowns.

Among the factors which were examined but which had no relation to the adequacy of care were satisfaction with care, length of wait to get an appointment, stressful life events pertaining to living conditions, problems with partner or family, problems with a job, and death or illness of family members or close friends. Prenatal care in the previous pregnancy did not have any relation to adequacy of care for this pregnancy. Neither did concern about the baby's health, about the woman's own health or about factors such as school enrollment or problems with the Medicaid application process.

One of the main barriers to prenatal care is poverty, as revealed by the high percentage of Medicaid and Food Stamp participants in the inadequate prenatal care group. Medicaid-eligibility by itself will not guarantee adequate prenatal care. The additional support and educational services offered by WIC may have fostered higher rates of adequate prenatal care. While transportation and childcare problems can be addressed by clinics within the existing system, issues pertaining to poverty and to wantedness of pregnancy must be addressed by society as a whole in order to improve the rate of adequate prenatal care utilization.

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